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Some Problems of Yaruro Ethnohistory*

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I was first led to consider Yaruro history because the ethnographic phenomena I found differed radically from those described by Petrullo (1939 *a*). Only historical research could resolve these differences. I shall first examine the discrepancies, then turn to the kinds of historical sources relevant to resolving the problems and to some of the material already examined, and, finally, briefly discuss the direction that the results appear to be taking.

I

Petrullo, describes the Yaruro of the Capanaparo River as being hunters of river and llanos animals, fishers of river fish, and gatherers of seeds, roots, and fruits. He denies the presence of horticulture, except among a few "acculturated" groups. As far as the monograph informs us, he visited only Yaruro near the mouth of the Capanaparo and on islands in the Orinoco during the months of the dry season. He did not visit the Arauca, Cunaviche, upper Capanaparo, Riecito, and Sinaruco rivers, on all of which Yaruro are found today, and apparently have been living indefinitely into the past, according to old maps.[1] On the basis of the groups visited, he asserts that the Yaruro were not horticultural. Kirchhoff (1948 *a*: 456) repeats this assertion, adding that Gilij (1780-1784: Vol. 3) mentions the use of green corn — a sign, according to Kirchhoff, of the recent adoption of corn at that time. No basis is given for this statement. Le Besnerais, in several publications (1948; 1950*a;* 1951; and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954), repeats that the Yaruro were hunters and gatherers, but, in his most recent work (1950 *b;* 1954; Ms.; Personal communication,

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[1] Cf. maps listed in the special section of the bibliography, many of which show the location of the Yaruro, Otomaco, Achagua ("as Chaguas"), Sáliva, Arauca, Caribe, or a number of other tribes at various points in history.

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1959), on the basis of later field research, he completely rejects his previous stand.

In 1949, after his earlier publications, Le Besnerais (cf. 1954) made a census of the entire Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, discovering among other things:

A) That most Yaruro settlements had dry season locations on or near the river, banks or on the sand bars in the river, and wet season locations back from the rivers on higher sand dunes,

B) that there were corresponding house types for each kind of location,

C) that a great many of these settlements appear to have had two divisions mainly in the wet season locations — often at considerable distances from each other, sometimes very close,

D) that near all winter locations and in all settlements along the entire length of the Riecito and Capanaparo rivers gardens existed with standard crops mentioned in my own work (1961 *a*, 1962),

E) and, by implication, that these garden plots are not readily visible from the river nor from dry season locations.

Fiasson (1947), speaking of a trip probably made in 1945, mentions gardens for the Yaruro in the Capanaparo-Meta area. The missionary, Raymond Kook, showed me pictures in 1958 of gardens on the upper Sinaruco. And, in the neighborhood of the mission station, near Guachara and along the Caño del Medio and the Cunaviche River, all the Indians had horticulture. These Indians also reported gardens along the Arauca River. The linguist, Thomas P. Rootes, describes gardens along the Riecito and Sinaruco, and I have myself published in detail on Yaruro horticulture (1961 *a*).

In sum, present sources indicate horticulture for all Yaruro, going back at least to 1945 or 1946 and undoubtedly earlier — a period at maximum no more than twelve years after Petrullo's *dry-season* visit in 1934. It is hard to believe that the horticultural practice was diffused the length and breadth of Yaruro-land and integrated into a well-organized transhumance and even into the world view all in fifteen years. Nevertheless belief is not adequate proof. The only recourse is to try to resolve the problem by earlier evidence.

The second major difference between my findings and those of Petrullo relates to the asserted existence of matrilineal "clans", characterised, in localities, by a sib core of women and their children plus the locally inmarried husbands. Nowhere in Petrullo is proof given for the *unilineality* which is implied by the term clan, though the *matrifocality* seems genuinely confirmed by the genealogies reproduced. Matrifocality is not congruent with matrilineality, and, try as I might, I was not able to establish the latter. I am not ready to assert that matrilineality therefore does not, or did not, exist but I was quite unable to elicit any evidence for it.

A related aspect is, of course, exogamy. Petrullo claims that marriage can only occur reciprocally between the two clans, marriage *within* which would

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constitute incest. I believe one can show from Petrullo's own genealogies that either incest occurred, possibly as a result of the process of depopulation, or that clan exogamy did not exist at all, since there were no clans, and the marriages concerned were not incestuous.

A third important feature that Petrullo asserts existed among the Yaruro is matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. Aside from the fact that, associated with the matriliny Petrullo's matriclans would possess, one would theoretically expect patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, if preferential cross-cousin marriage existed at all, I was unable to confirm unilateral cross-cousin marriage preferences but got statements of preference for bilateral cross-cousin marriage as well as reports of bilateral cross-cousin marriage and bilateral marriages between an ego and a parallel cousin's offspring.[2]

A fourth important feature discussed by Petrullo is totemism. The clans are assertedly connected respectively with the snake god Poanã and the jaguar god, Tió. Not only was I unable to confirm this, but the ethnographic evidence, on the whole, appears to contradict it directly. Totemism, for example, would be quite inconsistent with the social organization of the *ton'be* ceremony, the central socio-religious institution of the Yaruro which I have described elsewhere (1960, 1961 *b;* cf., also, Le Besnerais, 1951, 1950 *b,* and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954).

Thus we have not only ethnographic disagreement among three observers, but also the theoretical improbability of the original description which attaches matrilineal clanship to hunting and gathering nomadism, and to matrliateral cross-cousin marriage. Virtually all further published anthropological material on the Yaruro has taken the Petrullo report at face value. Some of these publications include a caveat about the report, but, unfortunately, others have, explicitly or implicitly, assumed its correcteness since they have used it as the starting point for historical, functional, or evolutionary reconstructions.[3]

Specifically the assertion is repeatedly made by Steward, Kirchhoff, and Steward and Faron that the Yaruro are one of a series of marginal tribes left over from an earlier wave of settlement and occupying interstitial areas among more advanced peoples. Steward (1946-1950, in various passages, esp. Vol. 5, pp. 678 *ff.*) tries to justify the marginal classification generally by designating characteristic traits present as well as those that should be absent. The Yaruro possess a large number of the latter, including horticulture, basketry, canoes,

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[2] The theoretical expectation of *patrilateral* cross-cousin marriage with matriliny is discussed in Homans and Schneider (1955, especially pp. 56-57) and elsewhere. The preference for bilateral marriage with cross-cousins or with offspring of parallel cousins is also found among the Jivaro (cf. Steward and Métraux, 1948, especially p. 626). This fact, with a great many similar traits of social organization and world view shared by the two cultures, is of considerable interest to the cultural origin of the groups discussed later in the paper where other parallels are mentioned.

[3] Cf. Kirchhoff, 1948, *a;* Steward, 1946-1950; Vol. 3, pp. 827-899; Vol. 5, pp. 669-679, *et passim;* Steward and Faron, 1959; Layrisse, *et al.,* 1961; Needham, 1960; Murdock, 1957.

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thatched houses, pottery, etc., all of which are, according to Steward, Tropical Forest traits, consistent with that possession of horticulture which Le Besnerais and I both found for the Yaruro. Kirchhoff (1948 *a*: 456) and Steward (1946-1950: Vol. 5, p. 680) try to reinforce this argument by stating that Gilij's Eighteenth Century mention of the Yaruro's practice of eating green corn is proof of their recently having acquired corn-planting.

One can, just as well, argue to the contrary that, had they borrowed corn-use from the Spanish or any tribe long-accustomed to the utilization of corn, they would never have thought of using it green at all but rather yellow in the manner of their cultural creditors. Judging by both historical and present-day reports[4] of raiding, a pattern which appears to have been substantially elaborated in the area, we may argue that the use of green corn was one way of saving the crop from neighboring human predators and possibly from animal ones as well. In other words, eating green corn can well be considered an adaptive use of corn, possibly in an old pattern, given the ecological relationships of the area.

The Layrisse, *et al.*, article (1961) dismisses the horticulture that Le Besnerais and I find as being of recent origin but gives no basis for this judgement except that it makes more consistent their correlation of a population having a low or absent Diego antigen frequency with an older culture layer and with various asserted linguistic connections. Such a procedure is scientifically not valid as proof, however useful it may be to set up hypothe-

II

Clearly the only *final* resolutions to the ethnographic discrepancies are historical ones, however much logic may convince us that the introduction of horticulture to all Yaruro groups and its integration even into their mythology and social life in the fifteen years between Petrullo's and Le Besnerais' visits is unlikely. As for the social organization problem, all possible documentary evidence must be brought to bear.

Three major sources of historical reconstruction are potentially available — archeology, lingustics, and written history — as well as several minor lines of evidence.

First, linguistic reconstruction of genetic relationships would provide us with better hypotheses. If Greenberg's tentative classification (1956; cf., also, Steward and Faron, 1959: 22-23) is correct, the Yaruro are related to the Jívaro, the Cofan, the extinct Esmeralda speakers, and others, all of whom were, or are, actively horticultural peoples though the last named were also

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[4] Cf. both Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*, and the sources he cites; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961; also my own observations.

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significantly hunters and fishers. The distribution of these peoples suggests a geographical radiation from a common location that is implied as well by the relationships among the languages — probably from the west or southwest of present Yaruro country. Work on the centuries of separation, on the degrees of relationship of these languages among themselves and to other groups of the putative Andean-Equatorial family is urgently needed as is archeology in the supposed area of radiation.

Second, archeology would provide most interesting evidence. Petrullo (1939 *b*) collected a series of artifacts, mainly potsherds, which suggest a degree of culture well beyond minimal Tropical Forest level. Le Besnerais (Ms.) mentions not only the variety of potsherds to be found but also polished stone axes and funerary urns (cf., also, Vernau, 1901). I myself saw an immense number of crude, friable, slipped potsherds; many potsherds generally of the Arauquín type; a polished stone celt; a polished stone mano, beautifully made (cf. photo), and so on. None of these objects, except the crude potsherds, have been found in situ, but the Indians assert that they dig them up all the time.

The archeological items would suggest that cultures previously in the area, whether Yaruro or not, were horticultural. Though no archeology of any kind has been done in the South Venezuelan llanos, these meager indications suggest that the Kirchhoff-Steward hypothesis is erroneous since the Yaruro of our times could not be a remnant of aboriginal hunters and gatherers if the area was previously at a much higher cultural level. The general hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959: 263 *ff.*) — especially that relating to a fusion between a western corn area and an eastern manioc area — would further tend to cast doubts on the whole Handbook scheme since the obvious routes for this fusion to have taken place are the great east-west llanos rivers. Archeological work is desperately needed here, and seems to me of central theoretical importance. It is hard to understand why so many workers have skirted the area.[5]

Before turning to written history I wish to take up some minor lines of evidence which are suggestive for the resolution of the ethnographic discrepancies. One has to do with the content of the ideology. Quite a number of items such as the earth mother, the ancestor cult, the serpent rainbow, the anaconda god, and so on (cf., Antolínez, 1939; Steward and Métraux, 1948, esp. p. 628; etc.), appear to connect the Yaruro with tribes to the west and southwest including the Chibcha and the Jívaro.

[5] No one has done systematic work in the llanos. Only sporadic finds have been made there (e. g., Petrullo, 1939 *b*; Vernau, 1901). The intensive archeological fieldwork has all been in the great circle around the llanos (cf. a great many works by Cruxent cited in Cruxent and Rouse, 1958-1959; Evans and Meggers, n.d.; Howard, 1943; Kidder, 1944; Marcano, 1893; Meggers and Evans, 1955; Osgood, 1943; Osgood and Howard, 1943; Rouse, 1956; Rouse and Cruxent, 1957, and many other Rouse articles listed in Cruxent and Rouse, 1958-1959. Cf., also, unpublished work by P. Gallagher, by M. Sanoja, and by E. Wagner.

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Second is the rate of deculturation. It is quite clear from comparing the material culture items observed by Petrullo with those that I observed, as well as from the present distribution of culture traits, which shows a gradient of trait loss as one goes from less acculturated to more acculturated groups, that the Yaruro once had a more elaborate culture content than at present. Though temporal extrapolations backwards can of course only be securely made by means of the written historical sources, items gleaned here and there from sources so far examined tend to confirm the inference from spatial distributions.[6] The implication of this is that the Yaruro were formerly considerably more complex, at least in their cultural content if not also in their cultural structure, than at the periods of ethnographic observation.

Third, a series of arguments concerning the ecological relations of the Yaruro to the land, and of the various tribes to each other and the food supply, could be presented which would suggest ecological specialization by tribal or subtribal groups among the Yaruro, Sáliva, Guahibo, Kuiva, Achagua, and Otomaco, all in a complex system (cf. Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*).

Fourth, an interesting ecological argument can be made which would resolve the disagreement about horticulture: that Petrullo's statement regarding horticulture might possibly be correct for the small, highly special area he studied and — the Orinoco sand bars and the estuary of the Capanaparo River in which wet-season flooding appears to be exceedingly extensive, hence sharply limiting horticultural possibilities — but that they do not apply to other zones of the llanos which do not have the ecological peculiarities of the river-mouth area.[7] I have discussed some aspects of this in previous publications, especially with regard to the importance of flooding, the area of gallery forest available for horticulture, and the pattern of transhumance (Leeds, 1961 *a*, especially pp. 13-18). An ecological-geographical survey of the entire region between the Orinoco highlands and the Andean spurs to the west is needed.

III

We may now turn to the question of written historical evidences. No published work on the Yaruro or the llanos has made use of much more than a dozen

[6] Cf. Crévaux, 1883: 570; Carriazo, 1910: 39; Acosta Saignes, 1961: 97, etc., as well as the loss of culture traits observable between Petrullo's and my visits.

[7] That this area is rather unique is clearly indicated by many maps which represent it as entirely flooded or as a welter of water-ways (cf. Gumilla, 1791). Acosta Saignes, in a foreword to Carvajal, points out that it was quite simple to mistake one river for another since, at least during the rainy season, they all flowed into each other near the mouth. The flooding makes any ordinary gardening impossible for a large part of the year. The hypothesis tends, however, to be contradicted by Le Besnerais's findings (1954; also, Leeds, 1961 *a*). It may be noted that in the almost absolutely flat Guachara area, between the Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, at the Indian village of Palmarito- much of the llanos floods. The loamy-mud soils are excellent for crops, but crops are only grown in those areas which remain a few inches or a foot or two above highest rainy-season water-level.

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works at best. As of the present I have been able to discover at least 300 works, or more, with some relevance to the llanos area. Not all of these refer to tribal groups, and of those that do, not all refer to specific tribes, much less the Yaruro. However all give some picture of life and conditions on the llanos, much of which is helpful, and some of which is most enlightening.

The published sources may roughly be classified as follows:

A) Travel records such as those of Carvajal (1648, [1956]), Chaffanjon (1889), Crévaux (1883), Humboldt (1799 *ff.* [1941]), Marcano (1893), Vázquez de Espinosa (1628 [1942]), Vela (1889 [1935-1936]).

B) Collections of documents such as those edited by Friede (1957-1960) and Cuervo (1891-1894),

C) Histories of various sorts, especially mission histories,[8]

D) Books and articles on such topics as the climate or the insect and plant life of the llanos which make passing mention of human occupation, e.g. Ramia (1959), Fiasson (1947),

E) Administrative-political documents such as Indian laws, boundary commision reports, etc,[9]

F) Earlier ethnographic and linguistic articles and books, including missionaries' reports such as Gumilla's and Gilij's, but also works from this century by Antolínez (1946), Jahn (1927), Oramas (1940), Acosta Saignes (1961), and so on, some apparently based on direct contact with the groups concerned, others based on documentary and other research.

The unpublished sources are mainly to be found in the Archive of Indies in Seville which was the main depository of documents from the Indies during the entire Colonial period. Millions of documents are deposited there, a great portion of them unexploited. The documents are arranged by the areas from which they came. Documents of all kinds were sent back to Spain: letters from officials reporting on travels and many other affairs, soldier's reports, documents of legal cases, missions reports, and so on.

The archives also include documents *from* Spain regarding the area, such as royal orders to the administrative personnel in the region. Curiously, though we have found many references elsewhere to grammars and vocabularies of Indian languages and similar documents (cf. Viñaza, 1892; Chamberlain, 1910), we have found none of these in the Seville Archive. We have recovered several hundred documents comprising about 4-5 000 microfilm frames.

A second great archival source is the Colombian National Archive in Bogotá. Bogotá was, during most of the Colonial period, the regional center for

[8] Cf., among mission histories, Aguirre, 1941; Cassani, 1741; Lodares, 1736; Navarro, 1940; Rio Negro, 1929; Rivero, 1736. General histories are legion. Cf. Acosta, 1848; Aguado, 1580; Aguado, 1918; Ballisteros, 1936; Baralt and Díaz, 1887; Caulin, 1779; Herrera, 1334; Ojer, 1960; Oviedo, 1852; Simon, 1882, Zamora, 1930, etc.

[9] Cf. Aguirre and Montalbán, 1846; Calcaño, 1891; Great Britain, 1898; Ramos Perez, 1961; Recopilación, 1681; Maps to Accompany . . ., 1896.

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an area which included what is now Venezuela. There was a constant flow of documents to Bogotá many of which stayed there, instead of being sent to the higher level administrative center in Seville. The collections are particularly rich in legal cases concerning Indians or land rights of Spaniards where Indians were involved. I have recovered some 5 000 microfilm frames here without beginning to exhaust the resources. Further document search is needed there.

A third important source is the Vatican Library which contains materials concerning missions and their activities. This source has not as yet been explored.

It is reported that the Archivo del Cauca in Popoyán, Colombia, is also of great importance since it was the administrative center for the llanos area. This also remains to be explored.

Aside from these, there is a series of minor sources of documents. The Brinton collection in Philadelphia has a number of documents, particularly on linguistics, relevant to the llanos area. Yale University has some documents. The Library of Congress appears to be relatively poor in llanos materials. I was able to discover only a copy of the Lord's prayer in Yaruro, but little else.

In Spain, the Biblioteca del Palacio has a number of documents of interest but is not a source comparable to that of the major archives. Preliminary searches have been made here, and considerable material has been received. The Biblioteca Nacional may also have documents. Formely the Berlin Royal Library had some important documents, especially a grammar and vocabulary by Forneri (n.d.). Several colleagues in Germany have kindly attempted to trace this document, but the Royal Library has been so dispersed by two wars that no one knows where the material is. It is hoped to be able to track these down too.

Venezuelan archives appear to be rather thin, also, since most of the material was sent to Popayán, Bogotá, or Seville. Some material, however, appears to be available there and has been explored by Father Canedo of the Academy of American Franciscan History in Washington. With Father Canedo abroad, it has, as yet, been impossible to investigate the material. I understand he has collected, mostly in Caracas, 50 000 frames on Venezuelan history, focussing primarily on the Spanish aspects, rather than on Indian. There may also be small deposits of documents in the diocesan centers of the llanos area.

IV

A short description of the data handling will be of interest. Each tribal group will have its own file of 5" × 8" cards which will be arranged chronologically according to the date of contact with the Indians, and then grouped in equivalent periods for easy comparison. On each card, special attention to the following categories of information will be given: season of observation, conditions of observation, observer, location at the time, subsistence reported,

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social features reported, ideological features reported, and relations with other tribes mentioned. The card sets will be arranged by geographical location of the tribe so that for any given time period one may pull out all the sets and arrange the tribes in their spatial order. Thus for any time period a picture of the trait distributions, cultural-ecological conditions, inter-tribal socio-ecological relations, and acculturational-social contacts and events should be obtainable.

V

Though, to date, I have been concerned mainly with collecting bibliography and documentary materials rather than with their analysis, I should like to hazard several very tentative conclusions, or perhaps guesses, with respect to the ethnohistory of the llanos, and particularly of the Yaruro, based on the geographic, ethnographic, archeological, linguistic, and historical data known to me now. Some, however, are presented more as hypotheses for proof or disproof through continued research.

First, Petrullo's description is erroneous at least as respects the subsistence economy. Late Nineteenth Century travellers like Crévaux and Vela and several persons in this century mention horticulture. Still earlier reports go back to the earlier Eighteenth Century when missionaries speak of horticulture. Their reports apply to the Yaruro, Otomaco, Guahibo, and other groups. It has not yet been possible to decide whether they introduced or found horticulture among these peoples. Petrullo's error appears to have several explanations:

A) That he was incapacitated for several weeks by sore feet and was unable to travel about the land away from the rivers. In my experience, a careful criss-crossing of the land on foot is an absolute necessity if one is to know how these peoples carry on their subsistence activities. I have paced off with a pedometer the entire area used by the group I worked with. In the course of so doing I discovered all kinds of gardens, houses, and other evidences of their land use. These would not otherwise have been discovered by an observer nor mentioned by the Yaruro, since mainly what is physically present is, to them, worthy of mention.[10] I should say a great portion of my most important data came from such accidental discoveries made while walking about.

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[10] I would stand at a certain spot in a garden and ask "Whose garden is this?" "Juan's." Then I might walk perhaps ten feet and say, "Juan keeps his garden well." "But this is not Juan's garden." "You just said that this was Juan's garden." "That was over there on the other side of that row of corn." This happened a number of times. I also asked once, "Is there female shamanism here?" "No." Several days later, a group from an neighboring village came to visit. After an all-night session of the *tou'be*, several women performed shamanistic rites. I said, "I thought you said there is no female shamanism here?" "There isn't anyone here [i. e. in our locality] who practices — these women are from upstream." The same cleaving to locus was observed with respect to time. I was told that Miguel was a shaman ("musico"). I said "Miguel, are you not a musico?" "I am not a musico. I cannot sing." A few weeks later, he was singing. I said,

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[151] [101] [74]

[facing p. 169]

A B C D E F

Among the objects in the possesion of the El Gomal Yaruro (ca. 6° 42' N.; 67° 43' W.), about 70 miles west of the Orinoco River, Informants claimed to have dug them up during house-building. No objects of these kinds are made by the Yaruro today. *A*) Hollow ceramic bird-head object, open and broken at the top. *B*) Solid ceramic object, unidentified. *C*) Polished stone object, unidentified. *D*) Solid ceramic object with punctate design, apparently a conventionalized animal (frog or snake?) head. *E*) Highly polished black stone, unidentified, about 1.25 inches long, apparently broken at one end. *F*) Highly polished tan stone object (mano?), about 6 inches long. No stones of these kinds are to be found in the area.

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B) Petrullo restricted his visits to the sand banks along and in the river, and, after his first arrival, most of his travelling was done on the streams. Gardens are never to be found on the sand banks and bars, but rather, usually, on the affluent creeks which are just above flood level of the rivers in the rainy season. Therefore he was not in a position to see the gardens which Le Besnerais later saw in the same area when he explored back from the river.

C) Petrullo was in the llanos in the dry season when the Yaruro move nearer the rivers both to secure a water supply as the water table lowers and to avail themselves of the much more plentiful and accessible river fauna[11] at a time when vegetable harvests are reduced because of drought. He was therefore observing dry-season subsistence — and perhaps only a part of it.

D) The probability that he observed only a part of the dry-season subsistence pattern in his area is reinforced by two considerations:

1) He reports the fact that 150 Yaruro had been massacred by Venezuelans a month before his arrival (p. 181). Their response under such circumstances is, as fast as possible, to get off the land that the Venezuelans want and to move to the rivers. I myself had occasion to observe such a diaspora, occurring in response to a smaller massacre. In view of this sort of response, it is likely, therefore, that Petrullo's group was living off river resources and away from their gardens at the time of his visit.

2) Maps indicate that in the lower part of the Capanaparo River, the flooding is greater and the number and size of side creeks suitable for horticulture is smaller than upstream on any of the large rivers. In other words, the available area for garden plots is much smaller, and riverine subsistence proportionately more important. Upriver, and more especially on the Sinaruco and on the middle and upper Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, there is much more tillable ground.

"I thought you said you could not sing and were not a musico?" "Yes, that was true last week when I had the grippe, but now my grippe is better I can be a musico again." And many similar examples of the extreme caution one needed to exercise regarding negative responses in order to be sure they were not merely descriptive of the place and moment. If Petrullo asked "Do you raise crops?", his informants would most likely have said, "No, we have no crops here", under the circumstances in which he found them.

[11] The river fauna is more plentiful and accessible in dry season because, first, it is more concentrated, and, second, it is more visible. During the wet, flooding season, fish, and other animals spread even into smaller streams and out upon the watery llanos — we caught a small piranha on the grassy, watercovered plain itself. On the plains, the fish are lost among the grasses and are virtually impossible to spear or shoot with bow and arrow. The river turbulence of the rainy season, meanwhile, has brought so much mud from further upstream that many of the rivers are opaque, especially in those parts of the llanos constructed of mud rather than sandy soils. Fish and the water reptiles and mammals are well-cloaked by the murky stream. The waters and the plains clear in the dry season so that the fish are concentrated in the limpid, grassless waters of the rivers, while land animals and riparian fauna are all crowded together near the banks in their search for food and water.

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Guahibo SC14

Y
Petrullo's own linguistic data includes the words for corn, *(pwe)*, manioc 174
(pae), and other planted foods. The words for corn and manioc are certainly 142
not word borrowings from Spanish. This tends to confirm the hypothesis of 241
an aboriginal presence at least of these crops.

A second point is that Yaruro and Guahibo subsistence is transhumant, G
consisting of a wet-season gardening predominance and a dry-season hunting Y
and/or fishing predominance. Guahibo, both presently and in various historical 174
sources,[12] are described as being horticulturalists as well as hunters. It is of 12
first importance to note which season is being discussed when the tribal sub- 241
sistence is being described. With this sort of transhumance, one would expect the decriptions in the literature to disagree; as they do, according to the season of description. Similarly there is much local ecological variation, which appears to determine variations in the predominance of horticulture or hunting or fishing or collecting.

Third, the various tribes — Yaruro, Guahibo, Kuiva, Síliva, Achagua, and G
possibly the Otomaco, as well as more distant groups - - maintained a complex 721
ecological relationship to llanos and extra-llanos resources by means of three 433
major institutions, trade, war, and raiding. For example Kuiva, described by my Yaruro informants and others as being "muy brabos",[13] even today raid both Guahibo and Yaruro villages, but apparently only when these are well supplied, *after* harvesting (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961). That is, they drain off a certain amount of the harvest surplus (cf. Leeds 1961 *a*: 23) from the horticultural groups. With this food, they are able to maintain a larger population in the hunting areas away from the rivers, which they regularly inhabit. Presumably it also compels or encourages the groups concerned to produce more as a hedge against such depredations, thus contributing to overall population maximinization. The raiding pattern may also account for the use of green corn as remarked before.

At the same time, the Guahibo raid Yaruro gardens as the corn and manioc- G
ripen, but are limited from so doing by the frequent presence of Yaruro in 174
their gardens during the harvest period and by the distance of the gardens 721
from the Guahibo villages. The Guahibo were also reported as formerly having carried on extensive warfare, which, it is my guess, had a subsistence foundation (cf. Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*). The peaceable Yaruro, on the other hand, have ap- Y
parently always done a considerable amount of trading up and down river in [439]
their canoes. Trade is also reflected archeologically in the stone artifacts mentioned above, since the kinds of stones used are not found in the llanos and must come from extra-llanos sources.

In short, the entire llanos area appears to me a complex ecological system Y
involving hunting, gathering, fishing, and horticulture, with trade, raiding, 174
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[12] Cf. Crévaux, 1883; Marcano, 1883; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1944; Vela, 1889; Wilbert, 1957.

[13] Cf. Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961. He described the generally harsh behavior of the men, the raiding pattern, and the rough manhandling he received from the women.

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and warfare as supra-tribal distribution mechanisms. It is interesting to note that the cultural characteristics ascribed to each of the peoples — "warlike," "peaceable," "brabo" — are ecologically funcional, in that they mirror value orientations which tend to drive people to maximize the food resources in ways appropriate to their socio-ecological environments.

Fourth, the evidence seems to me at present to point to the existence throughout the area, of pre-hispanic horticulture, enjoyed by at least some groups within each tribe, if not by all groups in part of every year. The evidence comes from the reports of travellers, missionaries, and from the archeological remnants, such as they at present are. The main Spanish and Venezuelan acculturational effects with respect to subsistence appear to have been the introduction of iron tools; seeds and plants not of native origin, such as sugar cane and bananas; and, here and there, cattle, pigs, or chickens.

Fifth, the evidence suggests a steady deculturation in an area capable of maintaining a more elaborate level of culture. One may hypothesize either that groups like the Yaruro came into the area with a level of culture reflected by the Arauquín-style remants and then gradually deculturated both pre-hispanically and in post-conquest times, to their present level, or that they intruded into such a culture at a time when they themselves were at a more elaborate level, and then deculturated largely under Spanish influence. It will probably be possible to shed light on this question with the historical data.

In summary, if these hypotheses are correct, the entire interpretation of the llanos area between the Andes and the Orinoco highlands, as well as of other nearby areas assertedly inhabited by so-called marginal tribes, is quite different from that presented by the *Handbook of South American Indians*. The marginals of northern South America seem to evanesce, and a picture of a highly complex ecological system in which horticulture is of central importance, even if not quantitatively predominant in this ecologically restricted area, appears. This picture seems to conform better to the recent archeological hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959), to the historical mentions of horticulture, to the presently scanty archeological and linguistic materials, and to more recent ethnological data.

I have not, as yet, been able to make any determination whatever with respect to clanship, totemism, or matricross-cousin marriage. I hope that with a study of the word lists discovered and with possible older ethnographic data that this problem may be resolved. My own field data suggests an organization into demes with bilateral marriages between cross-cousins or between an ego and his parallel cousin's offspring. This interpretation incidentally tallies with, or at least does not contradict, the data, such as the genealogies, kin terminology, and locality features described by Petrullo in all pasages where inferences and assertions as to the existence of these institutions do not occur.

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Abbreviations

B	Bulletin
BAE	Bureau of American Ethnology
BG-VB	British Guiana-Venezuela Boundary (*Cf. Maps to Accompany Documents...* 1896)
HSAI	Handbook of South American Indians
J	Journal
JSAP	Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris
LC	Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
R	Revista, Revue
SJA	Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
U	University, Universidad
US	United States
USGPO	United States Government Printing Office
YUPA	Yale University Publications in Anthropology

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* *Note:* The maps are arranged in chronological order for convenience in tracing the development of the populations and because such collections as that of the Library of Congress are arranged chronologically.